DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 174 525 SO 011 851

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TITLE Transnational Links Between the Arab Community in the U.S. and the Arab World.
INSTITUTION Denver Univ., Colo. Center for Teaching International Relations.
SPONS AGENCY New York Friends Group, Inc., New York. Center for War/Peace Studies.; Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 40p.; For related documents, see SO 011 852-854

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; *Arabs; Cultural Background; *Cultural Images; *Cultural Interrelationships; Ethnic Groups; Ethnic Stereotypes; *Ethnic Studies; Immigrants; Middle Eastern Studies; Minority Groups; *Minority Role; Nationalism; Non Western Civilization; Secondary Education; *Self Concept; Social Change; Teacher Education
IDENTIFIERS Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act

ABSTRACT

This monograph explores the interrelationships, or linkages, between Arabs in the United States and Arabs in the Arab world. It is intended to help teachers understand the complexities of ethnic identity among Arabs as a minority group in the United States. It is presented in five sections. Section one examines why social scientists in the United States have neglected to study Arabs as a minority group. Sections two and three give a history of Arab immigration to the United States. "Old immigrants" came before World War II and were predominantly uneducated and unskilled. "New immigrants" came after World War II and were young and highly educated professionals. A comparison is made of the social backgrounds and cultural assimilation patterns of the old and new immigrants. Section four explores identity variables of the immigrants in terms of how they perceive themselves and how the host country (U.S.) perceives them. For example, early immigrants identified themselves as coming from specific towns and countries, but more recently a spirit of Arab nationalism has emerged. Section five enumerates specific linkages between the Arab minority in the United States and the Arab world. The linkages include kinship, media, organizational, official (governmental), and business links, and Middle East Study Centers. (AV)

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TRANSNATIONAL LINKS BETWEEN THE ARAB COMMUNITY IN THE U.S. AND THE ARAB WORLD

Ethnic Heritage Studies Project

1976

A Monograph

prepared by

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Partially supported by the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare, which claims no responsibility for the materials and opinions presented.

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SO 011 851

This paper is divided into five sections. Section One discusses the question of why the Arab minority has been neglected as a subject of study among social scientists in the United States. Part Two deals with the arrival of Arabs to this continent. Part Three compares the "old immigrants" and the "new immigrants;" Part Four deals with identity variables of the immigrants. Part Five treats the linkages between the Arab minority in the U.S. and the Arab World.

I The Arab Minority as Focus of Investigation

Today, few social scientists espouse the melting pot theory which posited that multitudes of people from various ethnic groups would fuse together within American society, producing a new people and a new culture. Likewise, few social scientists support the Americanization theory that ethnic groups give up their cultural traits and adopt those of the dominant Anglo-Saxon group. On the contrary, most (if not all) social scientists subscribe to the cultural pluralism theory that ethnic groups are able to practice and maintain their own cultural traits within the overall pattern of the adopted society.

In this regard, the 1950s were a turning point in the history of ethnic relationships in this country. An ethnic awakening swept all ethnic groups in one form or another. Instead of attempting to submerge their cultural identity, ethnic groups became proud of their heritage and began to view ethnic pride as a positive reinforcement to the pluralistic orientation of American society.

Despite this ethnic awakening and interest in ethnicity, social scientists until very recently have paid little attention to the Arab-speaking community in this country. Major textbooks written in the field of ethnic relations in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Van der Zenden, American Minority Relations, 1972; Yetman (ed.), Majority and Minority, 1971; Dinnerstein and Jaber (eds.), The Aliens, 1970; and Milton Yinger, A Minority Group in American Society, 1965; do not refer to the Arab, either in the Table of Contents or in the Index. There are several explanations for this lack of interest: (1) The Arabic-speaking community is rather small, estimates varying from a million-and-a-half to two million. This Arab population is somewhat scattered throughout the U.S. with some concentration in California, Michigan, Illinois, and New York; consequently, they have been less visible and have tended to merge into the surrounding community. (2) Since few people of Arabic origin have achieved prominent positions until recently, the invisibility factor has been compounded. (3) Until recently, the Arab-Israeli conflict discouraged social scientists from studying this community, since identification with the Arab community or sympathy toward its social and political problems might result in their being labeled "anti-Semitic." (4) The dominance of Jewish scholars and teachers both in terms of number and power in social science has further discouraged interest in studying the Arabic-speaking community.

Lately, this lack of interest has begun to dissipate, and a new trend is emerging. In the last two decades we have witnessed the publication of four full-size books: Abdo Elkholy, 1966; Elaine Hagopian, 1969; Barbara Aswad, 1974; P. Kayal and J. Kayal, 1975, and dozens of articles. In addition, several Master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations have been written on the subject.

There are several reasons for this new trend. People of Arabic origin have acheived prominent positions in almost all walks of life--for example, Senator James Ahourezk (Dem., S.D.), Rep. James Abdnor, (Rep., S.D.), Rep. Abraham Kazen (Dem. Texas), Danny Thomas (entertainer and actor), Omar Sharif (movie actor), Ralph Nader (leading consumer advocate), Fariq al-Baz (Nasa program), Robert Kutayt (General U.S. Army), Halabi (former chairperson of Pan American Airlines), Peter Blatty (writer), and Jihran (writer). This increased visibility of the Arab minority has attracted the attention of many people, including social scientists. Also, the Arab-Israeli conflict took on new dimensions in the 1960s and 1970s, creating a new ethnic consciousness in the Arab community, encouraging the organization of clubs and associations to influence American politics toward bringing about a more even-handed policy toward the conflict and to spread information about the Arab World.

One organization worth mentioning in this context is the Arab American University Graduates (AAUG), which came into being in 1967 and is composed of Arabs and Arab-American professionals, especially professors, with a membership of over 1,000. The AAUG has sponsored a number of significant activities and has published several books about the Arab world. In this regard, we must add also that the AAUG, more than any other organization, has recognized the importance of the Arabic community. It encourages its members to study the Arab community and has published two books on this minority. Two years ago, the AAUG devoted its seventh annual convention to the theme, "Arabs as Americans: Dynamics of Challenge." Over fifty papers were presented that dealt with many aspects of the Arab community in America. A select number of these papers were published in a book by Baha Abu-Laban and Faith T. Zeadey, Arabs in America: Myths and Realities, (Wilmette, The Medina University Press, Internation, 1975). In addition, the AAUG has made a special arrangement with the Center for Immigration Studies of the University of Minnesota to establish a substantial collection of documents on Arab Americans. The Center seeks the whole spectrum of historical records of the Arabic-speaking people--books, periodicals, newspapers, annuals, church and mosque records, organizational archives and personal papers (see AAUG Newsletters, March 1974, p. 3).

Several social scientists of Arab origin have devoted their Master's thesis or Ph.D. dissertation to this topic, increasing both the visibility of the Arab community in the U.S. and the fund of knowledge about the Arab minority.

Until recently, ninety percent of the detailed works available on the Arab minority were either Master's theses or Ph.D. dissertations, and a good many of them are still unpublished.

II Arab Immigration to the U.S.

It is difficult to state with any degree of certainty the year, the decade, or perhaps even the century of the arrival of the first Arab to this continent. Concrete evidence is lacking in this aspect of U.S. history, and further research is urgently needed.

Some scholars, mainly Arabs, claim that the Arabs were the first to discover America. The famous Arab medieval geographer, Al-Idrisi, wrote in one of his books about the eight Arab adventurers who sailed beyond the "sea of darkness", as the Arabs used to call the Atlantic Ocean. Most Western historians deny the validity of this theory and discount the claim that the Arabs discovered America long before Columbus reached it shores in 1492. But one important shred of evidence in support of this story comes from the fact that when Italy celebrated the 500th birthday of Columbus, an item identified as the Al-Idrisi book containing the above story was among the exhibited belongings of Columbus.[1]

Another thoery suggested by the historian Nadim Makdisi is that the first word uttered on this continent was Arabic, "al-Salam akaykam,"/"how are you?" It was reported that Christopher Columbus was expecting to see the Grand Khan of India and that he took with him Louis de Torre as interpreter. Torre was an Arab whose name was acquired when he converted to Christianity following the fall of Granada, the last Arab stronghold in Spain after seven centuries (Almanac, p. 9). When Columbus reached the continent, he thought he had arrived in an Arabic speaking land. His interpreter said, "Hello, how are you?" to the first people he met. He was disappointed when he was not understood. Still another theory maintains that Estephan, the Arab, a Moroccan who was the guide to Fra Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan, was sent by the Viceroy of New Spain in 1539 to discover the southwestern part of North America. De Niza sent Estephan, the Arab, ahead of him to explore the northern region and to prepare for the expedition. Estephan penetrated deeply into the northwest territory which had not been seen before by a white man. He became friendly with Indian chiefs, learning their dialects and customs, and paving the way for the expedition he led from Mexico a year later. As he rode with De Niza ahead of the expeditions in a part of what is now New Mexico, Estephan was killed by the arrow of a hostile Indian (Nadim Makdsi, p. 3-4, Action Committee Yearbook, 1965-1966, p. 4).

Still another claim is that the first Arab person in the U.S. was Father Elias, an Achaldean priest from Mosul. His journey here is said to have started in 1668 and to have lasted about fifteen years. Another theory maintains that Anthony Bishallany was the first Arab of Lebanese origin to arrive at Boston in 1854. He came here to study, after having been influenced by the American missionaries who wanted him to return home as a missionary educator. He died in 1865 of tuberculois and is buried in Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetery.

While it is difficult to ascertain the year or the decade of the first Arab to arrive on this continent, it is possible to state with certainty that the Arabs did start arriving in significant numbers during the latter

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[1]The Islamic items (newsletters) recently reported that Rutgers University will soon publish a book by Iran van Sertima, which will show that Muslims extensively explored and settled in America prior to the arrival of Columbus in 1492. The book is entitled They Came Before Columbus, cited in the Journal of Rabetat Al-Iam Al-Islami, Vol. 3, No. 8, June 1976, p. 8.

quarter of the nineteenth century. Their numbers were significant enough to draw both the attention of the people of the host country and the immigration office. Table One gives details about the number of immigrants. The dates must be read with a grain of salt, because the Arabs were classified in the beginning along with Armenians, Greeks, and Turks under the heading "Turkey in Asia," and because some who entered illegally from other countries were of course not included in the immigration reports. Adding to these difficulties are changes in the definition and form of reporting from one decennial census to another. Nevertheless, these data do give us some impression of the number of immigrants during the period of 1875-1925.

According to Hitti's 1924 account, the total population of Arab origin was around 200,000 persons. This number included both immigrants as well as their children who were born in this country.

Table One

Arab Immigrants to U.S.

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1875	1	1900	2,920	1918	210
76	8	01	4,064	19	231
77	3	02	4,982	20	3,047
78	7	03	7,353	21	5,105
79	31	04	4,826	22	1,334
80	4	05	4,822	23	1,207
81	5	06	5,824	24	1,595
86	15	07	5,880		
87	208	08	3,668		
88	272	09	6,317		
89	593	10	5,444		
90	1,126	11	5,525		
91	2,488	12	9,210		
95	2,767	13	9,023		
96	4,139	14	1,767		
97	4,732	15	676		
98	4,275	16	976		
99	3,708	17			

Source: Al-Kindiiichie, al, "Arab Immigrants in the United States," New York, Mougaz Al-Araba Press, 1976, pp. 4-5, Arabic.

III Old Immigrants vs. New Immigrants

On the whole, one car classify the Arab immigrants into two major categories. For lack of better terms, I will call them the "old immigrants" and the "new immigrants," using the second global war as the line dividing them.

The Old Immigrants

The majority of the old immigrants came from what is called Lebanon today and to a lesser extent from present day Syria. Lebanon, more than any other Arab country, was and still is in constant contact with the West. Western power intervened in Ottoman Empire politics on behalf of one Lebanese group or another to protect their interests. Furthermore, Lebanon was the center for many types of missionary activities, which painted a rosy picture of an expanding American economy where abundance was available for all. All these factors created curiosity leading to an interest in emigrating to the American continent.

Most of the old immigrants were of Christian faith.[1] Christian immigrants belonged to many sects and denominations but the Maronites make up the majority. The Maronites are a Roman Catholic religious community with their own canon law and their own patriarch. Their origins lie in an ecclesiastical grouping of Christians who, in the first half of the fifth century, assembled around the hermit, Maron, whose name their descendants still bear. Moslem interest in emigrating to America came much later because they feared losing their religion in a country dominated by Christians. The following story, reported by Elkholy, underlies the point we are making. "In 1885," says an elderly Moslem woman, "my father planned to accompany some Christian friends to America. He bought the ticket and boarded the boat. Shortly before sailing he asked the captain whether America had mosques. Told that it had none, he feared that America was bilad Kufr - a land of unbelief. He immediately got off the boat." (Elkholy, p. 17.)

A significant number of old immigrants came from prominent urban centers of long historical standing such as Aleppo, Homos, Beirut, and Damascus. Also, those who came from the rural areas tended to be from

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[1]The Christians in the Arab World represented about 8% of the total population of around 140 million. These Christians represented old communities that dated back to the day of Christ. The activities of the European and American missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Arab World failed to gain converts among the Moslems and Jews. However, these missionaries did succeed in converting Christians from one denomination to another. The largest Christian grouping of around 6 million is in Egypt, followed by Lebanon, which has around 1.5 million Christians (about 40% of the total population.

villages with an active social life. As such, most of them were not isolated farmers but quite accustomed to and familar with urban life. This familiarity with urban life affected their adjustment to American society and culture in a positive fashion. It reduced cultural shock and its negative impact on new immigrants (Khayli, p. 72). Today, the total population of Americans of Arab descent is reported to be around two million, distriubted as shown in Table Two.

Table Two

Distribution of Arab Americans by State

State	Arab Americans
California	258,000
New York	195,000
Ohio	117,000
Illinois	116,000
Pennsylvania	115,000
Michigan	95,000
Texas	90,000
Massachusetts	62,400
North Carolina	56,000
Virginia	51,000
Wisconsin	49,500
New Jersey	44,000
Florida	42,000
Maryland	39,000
Washington	37,500
Indiana	35,000
Missouri	33,000
Connecticut	30,000
Minnesota	26,000
Georgia	25,000
Louisiana	22,000
Colorado	17,400
Tennessee	16,400
Alabama	16,200
Arizona	15,800
West Virginia	15,800
Oklahoma	14,000
Oregon	11,500
Kentucky	10,200
D.C.	9,000
Iowa	9,000
South Carolina	9,000
Rhode Island	8,800
Kansas	8,500
Utah	7,800

Source: Al-Kindilchie, "Arab Immigrants in the United States", pp. 10-11.

Most of the first immigrants were uneducated and unskilled upon their arrival in the new land. They had to start at the bottom of the scale and move up, finding work as peddlers, grocery store owners, blue collar workers, etc.

Of all menial jobs, peddling stands out as a job which attracted a significant number of the early immigrants. Lucius Miller found in his 1904 study that one out of three New York Syrians were engaged in peddling. They were earning $10 to $12 a week, a very handsome amount of money for unskilled workers new to the country and just learning the language of their host country. In a more recent study by Elkholy, he found 40% of the sample he studied in Detroit and Toledo reported that the primary occupation of the first generation was peddling. (For further information, see Table Three.)

Table Three

First Generations Respondents' First Occupation in America

	Number	%
Peddlar	58	40
Salesman	13	9
Business	12	8
Unskilled	28	19
Working with relatives	31	21
Farmers	4	3
Total	146	100

Source: Alkholy, "The Arab Muslim in the United States", p. 60.

There are several reasons why peddling attracted many early Arab immigrants. Peddling did not require skills nor huge capital, as the peddler's stock consists of lace, fabrics, ribbons, kimonos, embroideries, suspenders, mirrors, confectioneries and other articles which could be easily transported. Also, competition is not keen in this type of occupation. Considered as one of the less respected occupations by Americans, peddling is often the occupation of the poor and destitute. In addition, this mode of economic activity was very common in the home country. Hitti described the Syrian as a trader wherever and whenever he can be, and is a laborer only where he must be (Hitti, 1924, p. 69.).

Although peddling was the occupation least preferred by Americans, Americans nevertheless welcomed the peddlers. The long working hours in factories and on farms before the first global war as well as the distance to commercial centers made peddlers welcome visitors. The peddler was a friend who brought needed goods as well as news from the strange exotic world of the Orient. Peddling was an occupation that took the immigrants to distant places, such as Detroit, Columbus, Los Angeles and elsewhere.

The peddling practiced by the old immigrants became the stepping stone by which the Arab Community entered the mainstream of American economic and social life. Peddling as an economic activity put the Arab immigrants in direct contact with other Americans, where they had to speak English and where the situation allowed social contact and relationships. This experience helped them accomodate themselves to the new environment and to overcome the difficult road to success. Today, these immigrants--if they are still alive--and their children and grandchildren are represented in practically all walks of life, particularly in professional and industrial occupations. The story of the family of the late Patriarch of Khuri, who died at the age of 84, is a case in point. In 1891, he emigrated at the age of 19 to this country with very little money. He started as a peddler with a meager stock of goods. He soon acquired a store, then branched out until he made several fortunes in various businesses. Later he retired in Miami, Florida. Finding it difficult doing nothing, he made another fortune through a chain of self-service laundries. His son acquired more wealth and is a prominent investment broker in Miami (Berger, pp. 315-16).

The study of the St. Louis Maronite community shows that 56% of the respondents were employed in professional, self-employed or clerical positions, where only 28% of their immigrant fathers had held similar positions. Also, the study shows only 13% of the respondents were employed in skilled or semi-skilled jobs, compared to 44% of their fathers (John Allhoff, p. 707). In another study by Arumi on Springfield, Mass., he described the community as follows: "Today the grandchildren of the immigrants are moving rapidly into the professions and other enterprises requiring special skills, such as manufacturing, insurance and real estate," (p. 6).

One important factor which allowed this social mobility was the lack of deep prejudices against these early immigrants. In addition, the early immigrants were familiar with urban life with its selling and

buying activities in a money economy, and those who did not come from cities likely came from villages in which they performed certain business functions avoided by the Moslems (Berger, p. 316). Early immigrants were accustomed to a frugal existence in the old country. They were able to live meagerly and save as much as possible to improve their lot by buying shops, grocery stores, etc.

Most early immigrants planned to stay in the new land only long enough to amass as much wealth as possible in the shortest period possible and then planned to return to their native town or village. However, in time, most of them changed their minds and decided to settle here permanently, and began bringing their families and relatives to join them. Furthermore, the political situation was uncertain in their homelands, which were being partitioned. Zelditch's study of 1932 showed that eight out of ten Syrians who resided permanently at that time had originally intended to return after they had accumulated enough money to live comfortably in their original city or village. A typical attitude of the original immigrant can be discerned in the following quotation:

> "When I left Syria, I did not plan to stay permanently. I hoped to make enough money to live comfortably then return, perhaps to Tripoli (in Lebanon). Well, I did return to live. In two years time, carrying $10,000 back with me. But I stayed only ten months in Syria. My family and all the people in my town were so admiring and so excited about my good fortune that they insisted I must return with them and show them how such fortunes were to be obtained. I also found living in Syria was as hard as ever, and I had begun to enjoy some of the American luxuries such as good sanitation and freedom of movement. So accompanied by my three brothers and fifteen of our neighbors, I returned. It was not long afterward that I met my wife in Brooklyn. She, too, was Syrian. My business prospered and soon we began to raise our children. Then I realized I had no reason to return to Syria. This was my home here. It was then that I became a citizen." (Zelditch, p. 39).

Most of the early immigrants were male. According to one source, the ratio of males to females was four to one in 1895. (Kayal, p. 89). However, this lopsided ratio began changing with the decision of many immigrants to settle permanently and to bring their wives and kin to join them. Between 1908 and 1910, about 95% of the registered Arab immigrants (8,725) declared they were coming to join relatives and friends. Of the Arab immigrants admitted in 1913-1914, 85% had come to join relatives. About one-third of them had their passage paid by relatives. Table Four gives some further details.

In other words, the pattern of emigration essentially changed from being male-dominated to more or less of a family movement. One interesting factor that helped to bring about this change was that the early immigrants discovered women were an economic asset rather than a liability. In

Table Four

Syrian Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. and Whose Passage was Paid by Relatives or were going to join Relatives, 1911-1914

Year	Who Paid Passage		Going to Join		Total	Number
	Relative	Non-Relative	Relative	Non-Relative		
1911	30%	70%	86%	14%	100%	5,444
1912	36	64	84	16	100	5,525
1913	30	70	86	14	100	9,120
1914	28	72	83	17	100	9,023

Source: Compiled from immigration annual report.

peddling, the women played an essential part. Individually, or in combination with their husband, they practiced peddling to accumulate money to improve their lot and to move up the social ladder. Philip Hitti, writing in 1924 in his study Syrians in America, states, "The nature of the work in which the early Syrian engages--peddling notions, lace and undergarments--lent itself more easily to women's work who had free access to homes. No sooner had the Syrian discovered that in the U.S. woman was an asset rather than a liability than he began to bring his women folks" (p. 58). Haddad, in a much more recent study on the woman's role in socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago, supports Hitti's contention about the importance and the significance the role Syrian women played in the financial betterment of their husbands. She states

> ". . . by the very nature of his trade and the small income he could draw from it, he (the Syrian Arab) gradually realized that he should have a partner. He naturally preferred a partner who could be unquestionably trustworthy. The nature of his trade also called for a partner who could have access to American homes. There was clearly one answer: his wife had to peddle also.
>
> . . . once in this country, the Syrian woman used and adapted all the (traditional) skills, plus a few more. She baked and sold Syrian bread to the surrounding families. Sometimes she made aprons or other small items that she sold. If her husband could manage to handle a broader variety of merchandise she helped with those too." (pp. 90-99)

The New Immigrants

The new immigrants consist of varied nationalities--Iraqi, Egyptian, Palestinian, Yemani--as well as Lebanese and Syrian. They are a mixture of both Moslem and Christian.

Many of them are literate, and a good number of them are highly qualified professionals with advanced academic degrees, which puts them in a favorable bargaining position in education, research, and technical markets, especially since they have no linguistic barrier to restrict their mobility. Most of these people emigrated either because of a lack of appropriate jobs fitting their specialization, or the low salaries or the lack of an appropriate working environment available in their native countries. Table Five shows that about 40,000 highly talented Arabs immigrated to this country between 1962 and 1969.

Table Five

Number of Arab Immigrants in Professions

Country	Technician	Engineering	Physician	Natural Science	Physical Science	Nurse	Total
Egypt	2,716	564	171	231	32	25	9,315
Lebanon	1,211	277	169	95	20	97	8,193
Jordan & Palestine	886	117	27	47	11	42	9,540
Iraq	774	165	45	67	4	13	4,192
Syria	463	129	43	30	5	13	2,400
Morocco	238	18	14	3	0	9	2,473
Tunisia	139	4	13	6	1	2	490
Algeria	113	9	1	2	6	1	983
Total	6,560	1,283	483	481	79	202	37,600

Source: (Al-Kindilchie, p. 14)

Students who came to study in this country represent a big source of this type of immigration. The latest statistics available show that there were about 7,000 Arab students studying in this country in 1973[1], distributed as shown in Table Six.

Most of these students have an "F" visa upon their arrival here. This type of visa can be easily changed after graduation to other visa forms.[2] In 1967 about 445 students from eleven Arab countries changed to permanent visas, followed by 246 in 1968 and 274 in 1969. Some of these students had no intention of staying in the beginning, but upon their graduation, they were intrigued by the idea of working for a year or two to gain experience in their field before their return. In time, they developed a taste for the good salaries and working environment, which induced them to stay. Furthermore, some were married to American partners, which encouraged their staying to avoid the difficulties their partners would face in adjusting to the harsh environment of their own countries.

It is appropriate at this juncture to point out the 1965 change in U.S. immigration law has encouraged educated persons to emigrate to this country. Prior to 1965, country of origin was the main criteria in accepting immigrants, and immigration from the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" (stretching from Pakistan and India to Japan and the Pacific Island and including Arab countries) had been limited to 2,000 persons per year excluding relatives and kin. Congress abolished this law on the ground that it perpetuated racism and replaced it with a law based on educational qualifications and requirements of the country. This change has opened the door to highly talented persons of the developing nations, including the Arab countries.

IV Identity Problem

The identity variable represents a special problem that deserves a discussion in its own right. The question of identity has two dimensions: the first deals with how the host country identifies the immigrants, and the second with how the immigrants identify themselves. These two dimensions can be separated for analysis, but in reality are interwoven.

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[1] The number of Arab students today exceeds 10,000 students. The majority of the increase in the last few years comes from oil producing countries who started sending hundreds of students to the U.S. to specialize in fields related to the increasing demands imposed by the five-year plan.

[2] One study shows that during a period of ten years (1956-66), almost every Egyptian student who went to study abroad decided to remain outside Egypt. The same study indicates about 80% of all Jordanian students never returned home. Most students who don't return home in both groups choose the U.S. as their residence. (Elias Zain, "An Arab View", Mid-East 9, No. 1, Jan-Feb. 1969, pp. 3-7).

Table Six

Number of Arab Students by Country of Origin

Country	# of Students
Lebanon	1,340
Egypt	1,148
Jordan & Palestine	978
Saudi Arabia	943
Libya	573
Kuwait	567
Syria	407
Iraq	361
Sudan	157
Morocco	93
Algeria	68
Tunisia	60
Qatar	57

Source: Institute of International Education "Report on International Exchange", p. 14-20.

The identity of the old immigrants passed through three stages. Coming from present-day Lebanon and Syria, which were both part of the Ottoman Empire until 1917, these immigrants held Turkish passports, and the immigration office identified them as Turks. This is one reason why it is difficult to determine how many Arabs entered this country in the 19th century. The immigrants themselves did not like this identification and preferred to be identified by the town and the village from which they came. In their original country, the base of identity is the family, religion, and place of residence, which could be a village or town. These are the forces which command their loyalties and commitments. The larger country has the least loyalty and commitment. Most of these immigrants came from communities which were self-sufficient. They were born, grew up, married, raised children, and died in the same village. Only a small minority of the men got an opportunity to travel. Men could journey to the neighboring town to market, but women were usually confined to the village of their birth or marriage. Salem Rizk, a Syrian immigrant, described his early experience in Syria as follows:

> "Nearly all the things that happened when I was a boy in the places beyond our Hill . . . I didn't know anything about or even dimly suspect . . . most of the talk in our valley was the little talk of little people trying to scratch a living out of the niggardly earth." (The Syrian Yankee, New York, 1943, p. 1).

Arab nationalism in the late 19th century as a unifying force was in its inception and had little or no impact on its people. The physical terrain of the Arab World, particularly the mountain ranges, has contributed to isolating community from community and nation from nation. For many countries, particularly Lebanon from which most early immigrants came, the growth of communication has been relatively slow and was not well established until the first quarter of the 20th century. Domination by foreign powers has also interfered with developing national unity, and the ancient religious differentiations have intensified the sense of community parochialism. (Fuller, "Buarij," 1970, p. 7.)

Upon their arrival, these immigrants continued for a time to identify themselves with their particular communities. Hitti, in this respect, states, "All they thought of themselves were as Beirties, Zahlawis, Dayranis, Hasrunis, Hagilanis or as Masonites, Druse, Greek-Orthodox, Metawalah." However, with the passing years, these immigrants adopted newer and more modern identification synonymous with the country from which they came rather than with their native city or village. Thus, the identity of being a Syrian or Lebanese was developed.

Several factors brought about this change. It is easier to identify the country rather than the village or town to the people in the host country. Syria and Lebanon became separate political entities after the first global war and their citizens carried identification passports. Thus, the immigrants were identified by the citizenship of the country

from which they came in the immigration office. The Syrian and Lebanese found it to their advantage to adopt this national identity rather than a narrower one (i.e. by village), since the broader identity brought together and stressed their common elements in terms of similar customs and traditions. Such unity is badly needed in a new land with its harsh and unpredictable environment.

More recently, many of the old immigrants have started identifying themselves as Arabs rather than as Syrian or Lebanese. Part of this movement can be seen in the changing of the name of their voluntary organizations or the new type of organizations they were forming. The change also can be seen in their activities and their concern with the Arab World. For example, at the 31st Antiochian Archdiocese Convention which took place on July 26 - August 1, 1976, at the Hilton Hotel in San Francisco, several panels were organized dealing with the Arab community here and overseas. One of the panels focused on the distorted image of the Arab in the American media. The participants at the panel discussed the various media inputs--movies, the press, and textbooks--in the formation of such an image and how to overcome it. The AAUG, at the same convention, had a table exhibiting its publications along with other material dealing with the Arab point of view on such matters as the Arab-Israeli Conflict, the PLO, and oil in the Arab World. Other evidence of change in the identity of the old immigrant can be seen in the publications of these organizations. For example, the "Word" magazine of the Antiochian Archdiocese has published several articles in the last few years of a political nature that explicitly encourages their readers to be more active in promoting the Arab point of view in this country. A recent article by Najib Saḥba on Lebanon, "An Orthodox Christian Response," March 1976, pp. 5-9, attacks the naive interpretation of the crisis in Lebanon as a Christian-Muslim conflict. Instead, the author uses a socio-economic, regional, and international variable to explain the current tension in Lebanon.

One important reason that brought about this change is the Arab-Israeli conflict from its inception up until now. The Six Day War in particular, the subsequent massive Israeli military incursion into Lebanon, and the general unfavorable stereotypes and negative images applied indiscriminately to the Arabs by the mass media began to move Americans of Lebanese origin into action. It forced them to defend themselves in hostile environments which identified them as Arab, and against the investigation of Arab communities by government agencies in their campaign against so-called terrorism.[1] This policy offended the

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[1]On September 25, 1972 a special Cabinet Committee, which was comprised of representatives of the FBI, the CIA, the Attorney General, and the State, Defense, Treasury and Transportation Departments, was set up by President Nixon to combat terrorism in the United States. "Special Measures" were enacted and a policy was formulated in order to prevent acts of "terrorism" from occurring in the United States. It

dignity and pride of many Americans of Lebanese or Syrian origin who viewed themselves as loyal and law-abiding Americans. This policy generated among the immigrants the feeling and the need for broader organization to defend and protect their interests.

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was said that this was in response to the Munich airport killing of Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympics. The "Special Measures," in formulation and implementation, are directed against persons of Arab origin and others who support them. These "Measures" entail:

1. Restrictions on entry in and transit through the U.S. of persons of Arab origin.
2. Placing under FBI surveillance persons of Arab origin who are in the U.S. regardless of whether they are foreign aliens, student visitors, permanent residents, or U.S. citizens.
3. Gathering of information by the FBI, CIA and INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) on persons of Arab origin in the U.S. (and abroad) who are "potential terrorists" or who are likely to assist "terrorists."
4. Gathering information by the FBI, CIA, and IRS of organizations in the U.S. (and abroad) who are militant or active in their pro-Palestinian positions.
5. Compiling dossiers on "leaders" and "organizers" of Arab origin who are politically active in their opposition to the U.S. pro-Israeli policy.
6. Screening by INS or students from Arab states and other non-resident aliens of Arab origin with a view toward reducing their number by means of deportation, expulsion, exclusion, non-renewal of visas, denial of extensions, etc.
7. Restricting the number of persons of Arab origin seeking to become permanent residents and citizens by means of screenings, delays, protracted investigations and other tactics.

As viewed by this writer, the intended impact of these measures is to intimidate Arab-Americans. It is a policy of harassment against Arab-Americans who, as of 1967, became vocal in their opposition to U.S. pro-Israeli policy. The reason advanced is "prevention of terrorism," but the real objective is to suppress the free expression of those who stand up against a one-sided policy motivated by political considerations.

After the June 1967 War, many Arab-American groups and organizations started to form and became increasingly active in peaceful political activities. Other groups and organizations in the American political scene became vocal opponents of U.S. pro-Israeli policy. Meanwhile, the Palestinian people, taking matters into their own hands, commenced guerrilla actions against Israel and some Palestinians resorted to terror violence. The combination of all these factors, including the mounting pressures on the Nixon administration by Zionist organizations, precipitated a vicious and racially discriminatory campaign against persons of Arab origin.

The new immigrants on the other hand, were identified from the beginning as Arabs. These immigrants, as pointed out above, came from various Arab countries. Many of them were politicized at home. Most of them arrived in this country after at least finishing high school in their home country. There they studied and learned a great deal about Arab heritage and Arab nationalism and learned that all Arabs, irrespective of their country, form one nation.

The new immigrants indeed were the product of revolutionary period in the Arab World which culminates in Nasser leadership.[1] Nasser's objectives were to abolish artificial boundaries among Arab countries, to create a unified political entity, and to bring about a socio-economic transformation that would equalize conditions in various regions of the Arab World and to provide it with greater cohesion and strength.

These new immigrants, upon their arrival to this country, continued their interest in Arab politics. They formed several organizations with the sole purpose of presenting the Arab point of view regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and to provide the Americans with good and accurate information on the Arab World. Two groups especially have played a central role in these activities.

The first group is comprised of immigrants who have studied in this country as undergraduate or graduate students. Many of these persons were initial members responsible for creation of the Arab organization. This organization came into being early in the 1950s, playing an active role in defending and explaining Arab issues and causes, and in raising political awareness in Arab immigrants. The organization issued the Arab Journal, (which ceased publication a few years ago) and a Bulletin in both Arabic and English, containing articles on Arab nationalism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, social change, industrialization, etc. Particularly in 1967 and 1968, the organization engaged in teaching in several universities and organized demonstrations. All these activities are directed to

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1Gamal Abdul Nasser (1918-70) was an Egyptian political leader and revolutionary. He was one of the first middle class Egyptians to be trained at the Cairo Military Academy. His Free Officer Society brought about the abdication of King Farouk in July 1922. Nasser advocated a policy of positive neutralism by which he sought to stay clear of U.S.-U.S.S.R. old Cold War entanglements. Following the Western withdrawal to help him building the Aswan High Dam project in 1956, he nationalized the Suez Canal Company, winning domestic and regional acclaim. A few months later, Egypt was attacked militarily by Israel, England and France. Nasser emerged from this crisis triumphant, as the leader of a new developing nation, which imperialism had failed to enslave.

Nasser placed heavy emphasis on social reform and economic development and upon the doctrine of Arab Socialism. His high stature in world politics signified international recognition, dignity and pride in being Arab. Until the time of his death by a heart attack on September 28, 1970, Nasser was considered the Arab leader with charismatic qualities and a moving spirit who could mobilize the masses and galvanize them into action.

inform Americans about the Arab World in general and the Palestinian cause in particular. These activities were directed to the Arab Americans as well as to the American intellectual.

The second group are the Palestinians, who lost their land and were forced to emigrate to every corner of the world, including the U.S. They live the bitter experience of alienation from their homeland and the anguish of displacement which make them more aware and conscious of their Arabism as a source of support and cohesion, as well as a force of strength to combat Zionist propaganda, with its distortion of the Arab point of view on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Furthermore, the emergence of the Palestinians' resistance movement on the political scene in the Middle East following the Six Day War in 1967 as a powerful force to be considered in any settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, gave the Palestinians in this country an added impetus and encouragement to increase their efforts and activities to mobilize citizens of Arab heritage into organization, with the purpose of educating Americans about the Arabs and to move American foreign policy toward more evenhandedness, i.e. a consideration of the Arab as well as the Israeli point of view.

V Transnational Links

The transnational linkages between the Arab community here and the Arab World are diversified and numerous. Their strength and intensity vary from one period to another, changing with the times, as new social and political conditions make old links obsolete and ineffective and produce new links more fitting and suitable to the new conditions. On the one hand, these transnational links help to preserve and perpetuate in one fashion or another the old culture of the home origin with its unique pattern of thinking, acting, and behaving. On the other hand, these transnational links work also as a catalyst for change in the home country by introducing new life styles with their associated new norms, values, and standards. In other words, these transnational links are a two-way street in which interaction goes back and forth. What follows is a brief discussion of these links and how they operate in maintaining the old culture. The impact of these links on the home country will be touched upon marginally, as it falls outside the scope of this paper.

On the whole, it is possible to classify the transnational links into six major categories. For lack of better terms, I will call them: (1) kinship links, (2) media links, (3) organizational links, (4) official links, (5) Middle East Studies Centers, and (6) business links. Though these categories overlap somewhat, they are distinctive enough to warrant separate discussion.

(1) Kinship[1] Links--are links between the immigrants and their families

[1]The term kin is used to refer to immediate family and relatives.

and relatives in their original country. These links are neither formal nor well-organized in the sense of a written set of procedures or standards, but rather reflect the significance of the kinship institution as one of the main pillars of community life in the Arab country in which loyalty to the kinship structure takes priority over any other loyalty. Immigrants arriving in this country tend to function under the influence of these values and attempt to recreate these values with some modification in their new home.

Kinship links take many forms, such as the exchange of letters, personal visits of the immigrants to the home country, visits by members of the family to this country, the receiving of newspapers or books from home through the family, and the marrying of a partner from the home country either through personal visits or by requesting that a partner be sent.

One important aspect of the family structure in the Arab World is that it is expected to function as an integrated unit where members of the family pool their resources and income, thus creating a common fund out of which each member is given what is needed for his living. Even when the members of the family are dispersed, they are expected to help each other financially and socially. This mode of living continues to operate, even when the distance between the members of the family is great, as it is between the Arab immigrants of this country and their family and relatives in their original countries.

As soon as many of the immigrants started working and making money, they tried to save as much as possible to send to their families overseas. It is difficult to estimate how much was sent or is being sent now by immigrants to their families, but the following evidence is revealing and shows the importance of the family relationships.

"Up to 1920, the individual contribution sent through the Near East Relief by Syrians amount to $168,000. Up to the first of December 1919, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions had transmitted $2,250,360 to Syrian relatives and friends from Syrians in America." (Kayal, p. 119.)

Salim in his study, "The Lebanese Balance of Payments for 1961", (Arabic, Beirut 1964) estimated that Lebanon received 92,000,000LL (2 LL equals one U.S. dollar from Lebanese immigrants across the world. A good part of it came from relatives in the U.S. (The author does not say how much.)

Today, hardly a village or town in Lebanon does not exhibit a red-tiled-roofed house built by money from relatives in America. Zahla, a Lebanese village located on Mt. Lebanon between Damascus and Beirut, is a good case in point. In 1885 Zahla had only one stone building, the church. Twenty-five years later Zahla had nothing but stone buildings. One author reported that this village, which has a large representation in the U.S., received an average of five hundred dollars a day from abroad in 1930. (Kayal, p. 191.)

Another form of cooperation between members of families here and

overseas is that members in this country sometimes bring their relatives here by sponsoring them and guaranteeing them jobs. Families, on numberous occasions, function as employment agencies in helping their relatives find jobs. Laural Wigle's study of the Arab Muslim community in Detroit found that 80 percent of her sample had used kinship ties to guide and direct them to their first jobs. This form of cooperation has important implications to the transnational link question, the subject of this section. It reinforces and strengthens the relationship in that it increases the size of the Arabic community here. This, in turn, increases ethnic consciousness because, as the size of the community increases, members tend to use their native language more often and continue to practice and follow native customs. This form of cooperation constantly introduces new blood into the community, keeping the older members informed of overseas happenings which serve as a reminder of their own heritage. The norms of the country of origin are strengthened by the interaction of old and new members of the community.

(2) Media Links. These transnational links refer to two media, newspapers and radio.

Newspapers issued by members of the Arab community in the U.S. date back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and are written in Arabic, English, or a combination of both. The first Arabic newspaper, "Kawkabs America," was published in 1892 by Dr. Najecls Arbeely. A few years late another newspaper, "Al-Yam," was founded in 1897 by Joseph Malouf. A count made in 1929 of the Arabic newspapers issued up to that date in the U.S. listed 129 newspapers and periodicals. Many of these papers were shortlived due partly to the fact that they represented the efforts of one or two individuals and partly to limited financial resources and readership. Those which identified themselves with broader issues or proved adaptable to new situations survived. The "Al-Hoda" is considered the shrine of the Arabic press in America. It was founded on February 22, 1898, by Naoum Moukarzel and is still issued under different owners and editors. Today there are approximately 50 newspapers, periodicals, and bulletins published in major American cities by members of Arab communities. In December 1974, Los Angeles had five monthly newspapers, most of these published either weekly or monthly partly in Arabic and partly in English.

The newspapers represent an important transnational link between the Arab community here and the Arab World. They contribute extensively to the welfare of the Arab community and are very instrumental in preserving Arabic heritage, including Arabic language, music, arts, and other forms of culture. They also keep the Arab community here informed of the whereabouts of their relatives and old world friends. In short, these newspapers serve to unite the Arab community here and strengthen their identity as people of Arabic heritage.

A quick glance at the contents of these newspapers reveals that they contain articles and items from local Arabic communities and the

Arab World. For example, the issue of the News Circle[1] of May 1967, published in Los Angeles, contains the following headlines: "It-It Syrian Patriarch Ignatius Yacoub III visits L.A.," "Saudi Police Students visit California Highway Police School for Orientation," Arab Americans to participate in Bicentennial Celebration," "News from the Arab World," "Arab Culture," "Let's explore Qatar," "Saudi Arabia gives One Million Dollars to University of South California," "Dr. Hatem Huseni speaks at AAUG Installation Banquet," and "The World Lebanese Cultural Union install Mockary President". The purpose of these items and others is to keep the U.S. Arab community informed on what is happening here and overseas, and in doing so, these newspapers function as an avenue for preserving Arabic consciousness and culture.

One intersting note worth mentioning here is that newspapers of the Arab community today are different in one significant aspect from the newspapers of the yesteryears; they are less sectarian and less locally oriented than the older ones. In the past, most newspapers concentrated on local items and items from the village or town from which they emigrated. Furthermore, most of the items were of a social nature--who married whom and who arrived recently, etc. Today newspapers tend to focus on broader and larger issues facing the Arab World, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, problems of development in the Arab World, etc. Furthermore, a significant portion of the articles, including local ones, tend to be of a political nature with the purpose of combating the distorted image of the Arab in this country. Mr. Nader, Lebanese by birth, is the editor and publisher of The Cedar Press, a monthly paper published in Los Angeles since 1974 with a circulation of 17,000. He described the objectives of his paper as follows: "The purpose of our paper is to improve communication about and with our community, and, to change or help change the Arab's image in the United States. To fight the dirty image that we have in the United States due to Zionist slanted propaganda." This change in the tone and content of newspapers is due to a large extent to the changes in the identity question which we discussed in section four of this paper.

Arabic radio programs represent another link between the Arab community here and overseas. Today there are about 50 such programs, most of them weekly lasting one or two hours. They consist basically of broadcasting Arab music and songs, including news about the community and the Arab World. Most programs have commercials from Arab business persons who sponsor the programs. Among the current programs are the following: "The Arab Voice in Detroit," "Arabic Radio Program in Chicago," "Arabic Radio Program in San Francisco," "The Voice of Palestine in Chicago," and "Arabic Press Review in New York".

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[1]The News Circle is published and edited by Joseph Haick in Los Angeles. He is a Palestinian by birth, emigrated after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The circulation of the newspaper is around 10,000 with readership throughout the Arab-American community.

(3) Organizational Links--are transnational linkages which deal with organizations that spring up among Arab emigrants with the purpose of providing them with certain services that help them to maintain and sustain their Arabic heritage. It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of all these organizations for lack of space, and more importantly, data. It is possible, however, to classify them into three types: (A) religious organizations, (B) community organizations, and (C) ideological and professional organizations. Though these categories are not mutually exclusive, they are distinct enough to deserve separate discussion.

(A) Religious Organization In this category, I include the church and the mosque (the religious center for the Moslems) and their auxillary organizations.

The majority of immigrants, as we pointed out above, are of Christian faith who belonged to different sects and denominations. Upon their arrival to this country, many of them attempted to recreate their church here. Indeed, the church was the first institution to be recreated by the emigrants in their new environment. For example, the Arab Christians in Springfield, Mass., established their church as early as 1905. Today there are over 200 churches which serve the Arab community in this country. Of these, 81 belong to the Churches of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese; 17 belong to the Toledo Archdiocese Antiochian Orthodox Churches, 46 belong to the Maronite Churches, 34 belong to the Melkite Churches, 11 belong to the Syrian Orthodox Churches, 5 to the Chaldeans Churches, and 6 to the Coptic Orthodox Churches. (Almanac, pp. 60-83.)

Unlike the Christian Arab immigrants who may go to any of the numerous churches around them if they desired to worship, the Moslem emigrants did not have this choice. Thus, the desire to build a mosque was urgent. However, the number of Moslem immigrants in the early part of this century was small, and the attempt to build a mosque was not successful until 1929, when the first mosque was built in Highland Park, Michigan. Since then, the number of mosques and Muslim Centers has increased to approximately 40, as more and more Moslems emigrated to this country. These mosques and centers are located in major urban areas, such as Detroit, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, Toledo, Chicago, New England, etc.

These churches and mosques function as important transnational links which tie the Arab community here to the Arab World. They not only provide facilities to worship in their own way, to conduct marriage and funeral ceremonies, and to celebrate religious occasions and to teach religion, but they are also places for social and political activities. They are places to exchange gossip and information about the community here and overseas, and to hold social parties. The same loud speaker which broadcasts recorded Quranic verses or readings from the bible on Friday or Sunday broadcasts Arabic music or modern music on other days. The churches and mosques provide a place to give receptions for Arab dignitaries visiting the communities and to host parties and gatherings of other Arabic organizations. Also, these churches and mosques often

function as a hostel for new immigrants who do not have a place to live upon their arrival, thus providing comfort and security.

Many of these mosques and churches have auxilliary organizations for youth which keep them informed on Arabic heritage. Some conduct Arabic language classes, offer courses on Arab history and culture, and show films on the Arab World, with the purpose of instilling in the minds of these children pride and dignity of their Arabic background. Furthermore, these churches and mosques arrange mixed parties for these children to encourage them to develop innocent (non-sexual) relationships with the opposite sex, ultimately encouraging them to choose a partner of Arabic background when they grow up and in so doing preserve the cohesiveness of their group and keep alive the Arabic heritage.

Also, many churches and mosques issue weekly or monthly bulletins to communicate information of concern to the members of the community. Some of this information deals with the Arab religious institutions. On occasions, these religious institutions organize a charter plane to enable members to visit and renew their ties with the homeland cheaply. In summary, it is readily apparent that both churches and mosques are powerful instruments in reinforcing traditional values and preserving ethnic identity.

(B) Community Organizations. Countless secular voluntary organizations have emerged in the Arab community to fulfill needs unfulfilled by religious organizations. Many of these have been shortlived for lack of support in the community, effective leadership, or resources. But some survive and flourish for many decades. Below is a brief discusssion of one typical organization which is very successful.

The American Ramallah Federation consists of people who immigrated from the city of Ramallah[1], located about ten miles north of Jerusalem. It was founded in Detroit, Michigan, in 1957, as a result of the first convention called by the staff of "Hathihe Ramallah" magazine.[2] Today the Federation consists of fifteen branches scattered throughout the U.S. The most active branches are located in Detroit, San Francisco, and Jacksonville.

The Federation conducts annual conventions in major metropolitan areas where a large number of Ramallahs reside. So far it has held 17 annual conventions, the most recent on July 10, 1976 in New York City. These conventions bring thousands of people of Ramallah descent to discuss problems of common concern and to share events of value and

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[1]Between 1948 and 1967, Ramallah was part of Jordan. After the Six Day War of 1967, Ramallah was occupied by Israel.

[2]This magazine was founded in 1952. It carries local and national news, poetry, and stories.

importance to them; thus they renew and reinforce their ties among themselves and also among the people who still live in the city of Ramallah and other parts of the Arab World.

The Federation has eductional funds to provide scholarships for needy students in Ramallah. About twenty students so far have benefitted from this program. Often money and clothes are collected and sent to charitable organizations in Ramallah. The Federation also finances and supports several public projects, such as schools and hospitals.

Through its chapters, the Federation conducts Arabic classes and courses on Arabic history for its youth members to foster and strengthen ties with their Arabic heritage. For example, the Detroit chapter recently opened two classes in Arabic, one for ages 16 and up and one for youngsters 7 to 15. (Hathihe Ramallah, January/February 1976, p. 4.)

More recently, the Federation established a youth Federation to unify its youth. This auxilliary issues a monthly report informing its members of major events of concern to youth and conducts meetings in which films on the Arab World are presented and summer youth camps are organized. For example, the San Francisco chapter, in the summer of 1975, organized a summer youth camp in which 22 youngsters participated. They were presented with lectures and films on Ramallah and the Arab World (Hathihe Ramallah, November/December, 1975, p. 24). They were taught how to cook Arabic food, and Arabic music was played throughout the camping period. The purpose of the camp and other activities is to instill in the mind of the youngster love for Ramallah and Arabic culture.

Furthermore, the American Ramallah Federation, through its branches, conducts a variety of social activities for its members, such as Christmas parties or picnics for the community. These gatherings provide the people of Ramallah with the opportunity to enjoy themselves in their own way, plus gives the youth a rare opportunity to discover potential partners for the future. One woman describes these events as follows:

> In Christmas parties, we celebrate Christmas in our way. We have the chance to see almost everyone, talk, sing, and dance the Ramallah Dabkeh (folkdance). In picnics and parties also, the youth have a chance to socialize with each other, and who knows, they may choose their mates. That does not mean that marriage is an individual affair. It still has to go through traditional channels but less than it used to be. (Zaghel, p. 58.)

(C) Ideological and Professional Organizations. Most of these organizations are of recent origin, a good number of them emerging as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly after the Six Day War. Memberships in these organizations are drawn from all nationalities, and many of their leaders are recent immigrants. These organizations have as their goals (1) to influence American foreign policy, which has been in the main pro-Israel; (2) to provide the American public with information explaining the Arab point of view;

and (3) to combat the distorted image of the Arab in the media, particularly in newspapers, T.V., radio, and textbooks. Michael Sulieman and J. Terry made studies of the major American newspapers and magazines (New York Times, Washington Post, Newsweek, Time, etc.), over several periods of time--the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the 1956 Suez crisis, the 1967 War and the 1973 War--which revealed strong support for Israel. These scholars found that the newspapers and magazines in this country print editorials, feature articles, cartoons, and jokes which tend to give favorable impressions of the Israelis. They are described as peace loving people, dynamic, energetic, modern, brave, hardworking, with a Western orientation, democratic, and with high standards of education and living. On the other hand, the Arabs are portrayed in a negative and pejorative manner. Newspapers tend to reiterate stereotypical beliefs, half truths, and myths about Arabs, portraying them as nomads and war mongers who are dirty, dishonest, shifty, unstable, etc.

Textbooks in elementary and secondary schools share with the mass media the dubious distinction of creating and perpetuating distortions about the Arab. A content analysis by this author of thirty world history textbooks used in California and elsewhere in the U.S. revealed a distorted treatment of the Arab. The nomadic element of the Arab society is the most over emphasized. Not a single textbook failed to mention the camels, the desert, and the Bedouin, even though the Bedouin element today represents less than six percent of the total population. The Bedouin, indeed, is a vanishing species and so his camel. As for the Arab-Israeli conflict, all textbooks surveyed proved either overtly or covertly pro-Israel. They tend to blame the Arabs for the tension and conflict in the Middle East.

A brief discussion of three typical ideological organizations follows. The Action Committee on American-Arab Relations was founded in May 1964 by Dr. M. Mehi, an Iraqi by birth. Its objectives center on changing U.S. policy toward the Middle East, a policy that has been a detriment to the Arabs. The Action Committee opposes Communism, Fascism, anti-semitism, and Zionism. It has participated in picketing and demonstrations, has taken legal action in defense of Arab rights, filed complaints with the Federal Commission about slanted portrayals of Arabs by the communication media, and has attended hearings by American political parties regarding Middle East conflicts.

The Action Committee publishes a weekly newspaper which contains mainly political articles and news, with social items and advertisements receiving low priority. For example, the issue of May 10, 1970, contained 27 political articles with titles such as, "Israeli Oil Deals for the Sinai stirs Wide Criticism," "Jerusalem Blast Leaves 30 Injured," "Lebanon Elects Elias Sarkis," "The Apartheid Axis."

The circulation of the paper is around 15,000 and it costs $20 per year. In 1974 the office of the paper was bombed by some Zionist groups in New York. As a result, it ceased publication for over a year and a half, only recently resuming publication.

The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) is an organization founded in 1972 which serves as an umbrella group for Arab-Americans unable to identify with those pro-Arab activists who lean too far to the left, such as the Organization of Arab Students. The NAAA functions as a pressure group to persuade the American government to revise its overall commitment to Israel. The organization recognizes Israel's right to exist but rejects its policy of expansion at the expense of Arab territory. It utilizes conventional avenues to realize its objectives. NAAA officials appear before congressional committees, executive officials, and political clubs opposing the one-sided policy toward Israel. Other objectives of the organization are to help citizens of Arab origin to attain local, state, and national elected offices. Their convention in 1974 was studded with such topics as, "The Role of Arab-Americans in Policitcal Decision of 1974," and " The Importance of Establishing Better Relations with the News Media". NAAA activities are financed by membership dues and donations; NAAA dues are not tax deductible nor is the organization tax exempt.

A leading professional organization is the AAUG or the Association of the Arab-American University. Formed in the aftermath of the 1967 war, the AAUG emerged in response to the widespread feelings that the general level of understanding in the U.S. of the Arab world, its people, its culture, and its achievements is very limited. Most of its members and leaders are veterans of the OAS (Organization of the Arab Students). Many of its members are professionals, professors, lawyers, physicians, engineers, etc. In 1969 the national president reported that of the present members, seventy-two are professors in various universities, thirty-four are physicians, nineteen are engineers, fifteen are lawyers, ten are scientists, and the remainder are from various management, banking, and technical professions. (Abu-Lughod, Annual Report, 1967, p. 3). In 1974 the total membership was around 1,000 members, a good majority recent immigrants to this country.

The AAUG has a three tier structure; in its barest outline it consists of the dispersed membership, the chapters and committees, and the national organization. The AAUG today has 14 chapters in major urban areas and 24 standing committees. The structural differentiation is designed to enhance the capability of the AAUG to act swiftly and effectively.

The goals of the AAUG may be summarized as follows: (1) to establish links among Arab-American professionals and promote cooperation in their respective professions; (2) to utilize the professional know-how of Arab-Americans in the service of their communities; (3) to disseminate accurate scientific, cultural, and educational information about the Arab World; and (4) to assist in the development of the Arab World by providing the professional services of its members whenever the needs of the former and the talents of the latter coincide.

Through these various objectives, the AAUG aims at strengthening the bonds of understanding and friendship between the Arabs and the American people.

The activites of the AAUG can be classified into the following categories:

I. Publications

1. Quarterly news letters containing news of members, activities, organizations, short articles dealing with current issues in the Arab World, as well as advertisements of employment opportunities in the Arab World.

2. Publication of Monographs which contain the proceedings of the annual convention. So far, the organization has published eight monographs. They are as follows:
   1) Hagopian & Paden, The Arab-Americans
   2) N. Aruri (ed.) The Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Occupation
   3) A. Jabara & J. Terry (eds.), The Arab World: From Nationalism to Revolution
   4) Abu-Lughod & Abu-Laban (eds.), Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World
   5) Abu-Laban & Zeadey, Arabs in America
   6) N. Aruri (ed.), Middle East Crucible
   7) B. Aswad (ed.), Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities, published jointly with the Center for Migration Studies
   8) E. Said and F. Suleiman, The Arabs Today: Alternatives for Tommorrow, published jointly with Forum Associates.

These monographs, as the titles indicate, deal with the various aspects of the Arab World or with the Arab community in this country.

3. Information Papers. The AAUG, from time to time, publishes information on relevant questions in the hope of providing the public with necessary information and background for an informed assessment of critical matters that affect Arab-American relations; the AAUG has published 18 information papers. They are as follows:
   1) Israel's Occupation of Palestine and Other Arab Territories
   2) Arab Areas Occupied by Israel in June 1967
   3) The United States, Israel and the Arab States
   4) The Balfour Declaration: An Appraisal in International Law
   5) Dynamics of Land Alienation (in Palestine) and the Demographic Transformation of Palestine
   6) The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees
   7) The Middle East: Five Perspectives
   8) Altered Realities: The Palestinians since 1967
   9) Middle East History and the West
   10) The Civil Rights of Arab-Americans: The "Special Measures"
   11) Arabs and Jews: Possibility of Concord
   12) Three Studies on National Integration in the Arab World
   13) Two Studies on Israel
   14) The Development of Palestinian Resistance
   15) Legal Status of Israel and the Occupied Territories

16) Jewish Critics of Zionism
17) The Palestinians Today and American Policy
18) Arab Peace: Efforts and the Solution of the Arab-Israeli Problems

4. Occasional Papers. These short essays are designed to cover subjects of immediate urgency. So far, three occasional papers have been issued. They are as follows:

1) Lebanon: Two Perspectives
2) The Sinai Record as Phase of U.S. Containment Policy
3) Zionism as a Form of Racism

5. Bibliographies and Audio Visual Series.

1) Palestine is the Issue (43-minute filmstrip)
2) The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Annotated Bibliography
3) Women in the Arab World: An Annotated Bibliography

II. Provides lectures and panelists specializing in various aspects of the Arab World to interested institutions and organizations.

III. Encourages Arab government to contact and make use of the Arab professionals in this country.

IV. Organizes joint conferences and seminars with professional organizations in the Arab World, like the recent conference on issues in Human Resources Development in the Arab World. The conference was organized jointly with the Kuwait National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters. It was held in Kuwait during December 27-31, 1975, and was attended by about 500 delegates. About 130 AAUG members attended the conference which provided them with the opportunity to renew their contact with the Arab World. Another conference to be held in Libya is in the offing.

V. Defending the civil rights of the Arab-American by providing them with advice and counsel on legal matters and issues and guidelines whenever necessary for membership information. This activity came into being in response to the harrassment by government agencies against citizens of Arab heritage following the Munich affairs (see above).

VI. Annual convention which presents speakers and panelists of international stature who discuss a wide variety of topics. The convention provides members with the opportunity to renew their contact and to discuss problems and issues of common interest.

(4) Official Links are transnational links established by individual Arab governments[1] within the Arab community in the U.S. Until very recently

[1]There are twenty Arab governments, all belonging to the Arab League: Algeria, Bahraim, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Somalia, Tunisia, Unite Arab Emirates, North and South Yemen.

only Lebanon has made systematic efforts to strengthen the relationship between Lebanon and its emigrants abroad. This is due largely to the fact that the majority of Arabs abroad are of Lebanese background, and Lebanon has received a large sum of money from its people abroad. The Lebanon government considers this emigrant's remittance on par with tourism as a major economic resource. Further, its people talk of two types of Lebanese: the Lebanon resident (al-mugim) and the Lebanon emigrant (al-Mughtrib), literally the resident abroad. Thus, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Lebanon is called "The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Lebanes Abroad." This title underlies the importance Lebanon gives to the Lebanese abroad. The Lebanon government sponsors an annual conference for Lebanese abroad, who meet to strengthen their ties and to discuss common problems and issues of concern to both.

More recently, the governments of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Yemen are making some efforts to build bridges and links with their emigrants in the U.S., as their numbers have constantly increased over the last two decades.

These official links take many forms; a brief discussion of the most common ones follows.

The personal invitation of some individual immigrants or representatives of Arab organizations in the U.S. to visit their original countries is one such official link. These invitations usually take place on occasions of celebrating national holidays; for example, since the 14 of July, 1958, revolution in Iraq, the government regularly invites representatives from the Iraqi community in Detroit to attend the celebration of this occasion.

Official visits by government officials to the Arab community in this country are another official link. Occasionally different Arab governments send special delegates to tour the communities of their respective nationalities to meet with them and discuss issues of common concern.

Sometimes Arab governments donate money and gifts to Arab-American organizations. For example, Iraq recently donated $3,000 to the Arab Cultural Center in San Francisco to buy books for its library. Likewise, the Arab Information Center, which belongs to the Arab League, donated $5,000 to the library of that center. Saudi Arabia recently donated three million dollars to the Islamic Center in Los Angeles for constructing its new building. The United Arab Emirate recently donated $200,00 for the Islamic Center of Washington D.C. and $100,00 for the Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada. Furthermore, the United Arab Emirate agreed to help finance an English translation of the holy Quran on tapes to be used by interest persons in this country and abroad. (Journal of Rabetat al-Alam Al-Islami, June 1976, p. 24.)

Some Arab governments help the Arab community establish Arabic schools teaching Arabic language and culture to the children of the immigrants. The Iraqi government sponsored a school in Detroit with the purpose of strengthening ties between Iraqi emigrants and Iraq. Some Arab governments invite professionals of Arab origin to attend and participate in various government sponsored conferences in different fields.

Also, some Arab governments enacted certain laws to facilitate the visit of their own emigrants by giving them special privileges to enter and leave the country without going through the arduous bureaucratic procedures which had discouraged many of them in the past from visiting their relatives and country.

Certain Arab governments enacted certain laws with the purpose of attracting professionals of Arab origin to work in the Arab World on a temporary or permanent basis. Recently, Iraq enacted a law called the "Law of Qualified People." This law gives certain privileges to professional Arabs abroad, such as high salaries, a house, exemptions from certain taxes, etc., if they decide to work for a certain period of time in Iraq. This year the government of Saudi Arabia sent the Secretary of Raylth Uni to recruit professors of Arab origin to teach in Saudi Universities. The Libyan government has a special representative at its embassy in Washington D.C., whose assignment is to contact professionals of Arab origin and encourage them to work in Libya.

Some governments even issue special bulletins or newspapers to their emigrants abroad. For example, Egypt issues a weekly newspaper, "Arab Youth," which is sent by airmail to the Egyptian students abroad and the Arab emigrants. The issue of May 24, 1976, contained the following articles: "Three New Universities Start Next Year in Egypt," "Plan for Specialized Center in Educational Research to Prepare Arab Teachers," "The Directed Program of Egypt Radio to America," "Organizational Problems in Egyptian Hospitals," and "Many International Figures Visit Cairo." The newspaper also contains articles written by people from abroad aimed at establishing relationships between the emigrants and Egypt through keeping the emigrant informed on what is happening in Egypt and through allowing expression of their views and ideas on how to resolve the problems with which Egypt is faced.

Now and then some Arab governments organize special conferences for its emigrants abroad. The purpose of these conferences is to strengthen the bond between immigrants and their mother country and to encourage them to help with the building of their country through donations, grants, investments, etc. For example, on March 6-8, 1976, the government of North Yemen organized a conference for its immigrants abroad. Among recommendations accepted by the conference and pertinent to this paper are the following: (1) establishing a special agency for the immigrant Yemenis. The agency will have its headquarters in Sana-Yemen with branches in the countries where Yemeni have immigrated. (2) The conference encouraged the Yemeni government to enter into negotiations with other countries where Yemeni have emigrated to facilitate the transfer of money and other forms of property from the emigrant Yemenies to Yemen. (3) The conference recommended to the Yemeni government that a serious attempt to call back the qualified Yemenies to return home and help in constructing their country should be made. (4) The conference recommended to the Yemeni government that it should open schools in countries where Yemeni emigrated to teach them the Islamic religion and the Arabic language so they will be able to keep their Islamic and Arabic heritage (News Bulletin issued by the permanent delegation of Yemen at the United Nations, 3/10/76).

Some Arab governments offer scholarships to the descendants of Arab immigrants to study in their universities. For example, recently the government of Syria announced several scholarships for descendants of Arab immigrants or immigrants who have been in the U.S. for at least ten years, who wish to study in Syrian universities. The scholarship will include travel expenses, tuition and living expenses. (Voice, February 1976, p. 7).

These measures and others underlie the importance the Arab government attaches to the Arab community in this country. Today, these governments are aware of the fact that the Arab community in the U.S. represents a special asset: as a place to recruit professionals to fill positions their expanding economies need badly, as a channel to disseminate information on the Arab World, and as a channel for securing hard currency through remittances and investments.

(5) Middle East Studies Centers are another transnational link between the Arab community and the Arab World. Located at various universities throught the U.S., many of these centers came into being during the last two decades, although some, such as the ones at Berkeley and Harvard, can be traced to over a century ago. Most of them had a modest start in offering semitic language courses including Arabic. Today, several of them are huge and complex organizations with budgets of over a million dollars. They offer courses and training that lead to B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees. The most well-known centers are located at Harvard, Princeton, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and UCLA.

The importance of this transnational link can be summarized as follows.

Many Arab organizations use these centers to borrow films, filmstrips, slides, books, etc. for use when they organize social or political activities to celebrate certain occasions of importance to the community or the Arab World. Many Arab organizations may invite members from these centers to speak to them on the Arab World and to inform them of what is happening over there.

Many centers employ Arab teachers from the Arab World on a temporary basis. These teachers function as a channel for informing the Arab community here on what is happening in the Arab World. Many of them, as soon as they arrive in this country, establish ties with the surrounding Arab community, attending and participating in its activities and social gatherings. Many of them are invited as guests of honor or a mainspeaker at these functions. Also, many of these teachers, upon their return, write articles and give lectures about the Arab community in the U.S. In other words, these teachers act as agents to strengthen the ties between the two communities by informing each one of them what is happening with the other one.

The centers, on occasion, provide experts to school districts which have large numbers of students of Arab origin, to help them out in

their process of adjustment. More recently, some of the centers, such as Berkeley, have started new programs of teaching Arabic at the high school level as an elective language. The program is mainly directed towards people of Arabic origin.

(6) Business Links deal with trade and commerce between the Arab World and the Arab community in the U.S. In the past, many of the old immigrants, as we stated above, worked as peddlers merchandizing items imported from the Arab World, particularly from the Holy Land. These items were sold not only to Americans, but also to people of Arab descent who like to keep and maintain their traditions, this being particularly true with items related to Arabic food and music.

Today, peddling has disappeared as a common occupation among people of Arabic descent. However, the recent years witnessed the establishment of numerous Arabic stores throughout the country, specializing in selling all sorts of items related to Arabic culture, such as Arabic music, clothes, books, and foods. Some of these stores also sponsor Arabic radio programs, patronize the press of the Arab community, sponsor social gatherings, or organize shows of Arabic films.

Another dimension of this transnational business link is the commerce and trade between the Arab World and the U.S. This dimension assumed a great deal of importance in the last few years, following the adjustment of the price of oil in 1974. In 1971, U.S. exports to the Arab World were valued at $937 million. Then, in 1972, they topped a billion dollars. Here are the recent totals: 1972--$1,172 million; 1973--$1894 million; 1974--$3,418 million; and 1975--$5,463 million. This indicates a 366% increase over this four year span, and all signs indicate that the trend will continue. Imports from the Arab world were $3,919 million in 1974, increasing to $6,848.5 million in 1975. (Arab Economic Review, March-April, 1976, p. 10.)

Part of this trade is carried out by companies owned by Americans of Arab descent, such as ADAR.[1] The major bulk of this business, however, is carried out by American companies. But what is pertinent to mention here is that many of these companies employ people of Arabic origin as mediators to obtain business or to implement and execute the contracts. The assumption here is that such people will have an easier time in adjusting to the new environment and will be able to function effectively and smoothly.

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[1]ADAR (Associate for the Development of Arab Resources) is a non-political organization of scientific and business professionals who are committed to helping solve the problem of Arab societies. So far, ADAR has carried projects in Sudan, Mauritania, Libya, Kuwait, and Yemen.

The employment of these Americans of Arab descent in the Arab World is bound to strengthen their ties and reinforce their attachment to Arabic culture and heritage. Many of them, upon their return, decorate their home with souvenirs from the Arab World. Many of them become more active in the affairs of the Arab communities here, and may join organizations related to the community or participate in their activites.

The Future of the Transnational Links Between the Arab Community Here and the Arab World.

The above discusssion gives a short summary of the Arab community in the U.S. and its ties and bonds to the Arab World. The question which we need to consider here briefly is, what is the future of these bonds? Are they becoming stronger or weaker? There is no simple yes or no answer to these questions. There are some signs which indicate that some of the links mentioned above will get stronger, but there are other signs which show that other links will get weaker.

In all likelihood, official transnational links will be stronger and stronger in the coming years. Our discussion above revealed the new programs and steps many Arab governments are undertaking within the last few years to strengthen the bond with the Arab community here. As these countries get more and more involved in the process of development, they will look more and more to the Arab community here as a fountain from which to draw the technical know-how needed badly for this development. Also, as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict is not resolved, the Arab community here will be approached by the Arab officials to function as pressure groups lobbying for the Arab point of view. Moreover, all indications seem to suggest that the business links and the Middle East Center links will become stronger and stronger as the Arab World begins to occupy a focal position in international politics and trade by virtue of their new wealth subsequent to the adjustment of the prices of oil, which the Arab World produces in greater volume than any other area.

On the other hand, there are some indications that some of the links which we discussed above will become weaker or will cease to fulfill the goals mentioned above. This seems to be the case with the religious institutions, as both the church and the mosque are undergoing a great deal of change and modification to fit the changing environment of the host country and to meet the desires of their members, particularly those born in this country whose habits and customs differ significantly from their parents. In the process of adjustment, these institutions loosen their ties with the Arab World. For example, in 1956 the "Syrian Presbyterian Church" changed its name to "The Calvary United Presbyterian Church", thereby losing their historic identity (Younis, p. 330).

The history of the Roman Catholic Church (Maronite) of the Arab community in Springfield, Mass., is another example of change in the orientation of a religious institution. It was established in 1905. So far, it has had three pastors, each one of them reflecting the changing orientation of the church. The first one, Paul Saab,

1905-1913, spoke only Arabic and conducted services in Arabic. The church in his time followed exactly the functions and forms of the church back in Lebanon. The second, Pastor Michael Saab, 1913-1964, had his training in both the home culture and that of the West. He was able to bring about changes in the church and community which facilitated the process of assimilation. He described his job as follows: "The most important part of my work was to help my people remain ever closer to God and realize that they could live as full a life in this country of the United States as in Lebanon." (Aruri, p. 53.) The present Pastor Karam (1964-present) was born and educated exclusively in the U.S. His knowledge of Arabic is limited. He has fairly long hair and is bearded. He describes the role of the church as follows:

> What we have to maintain is our religious rite, other than this the church is part of the whole American society. It should interact with the present events, that is why we talk about such things as urban problems, civil rights, crime, air pollution, war in Vietnam and the generation gap. Our people have minimum interest in these things and it is our job to encourage their involvement.
>
> The church also should respond to changes. One example is the language of the services. Very few speak Arabic, so I see no reason to use Arabic language. The church should use the language the people understand: the language they hear on television, on radio, the language they use in shopping and in their daily life. It is true that members of the old generation resist this and we compromise by using Arabic, but not often. (Othman, p. 67).

Many of the programs of these institutions, particularly the ones related to teaching Arabic, seem to be a failure and of short duration. Many of them lack enrollment and sufficient funding. Moreover, talking with some of the people enrolled in these programs gives the impression that they have not learned very much. In addition, there is some evidence that these religious institutions are not very successful in keeping their respective members from marrying outside the community. Intermarriage with outsiders is increasing, particularly among people born in this country. This, of course, will lead to loosing the bonds and ties with the mother country.

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